"Self-suggestion plays an important part in the Indian and must be taken into account if we are to understand the psychology of witchcraft. As soon as he has, for one reason or another, decided that he has been bewitched in a way beyond cure and that his last hour has arrived, he generally dies in spite of any treatment.

However the sorcerer proceeds, he seldom contents himself with shooting one single 'arrow' at an enemy whom he wants to kill. As soon as the victim has been hit once, his relatives generally call in a medicine-man who may be able to extract the tunchi in time and thus save [409] the patient's life. The hostile sorcerer is therefore anxious to repeat his operation several times, shooting one 'arrow' after the other to be surer of the desired result. His aim is to fill the enemy's body with so many tsinsakas that the curing medicine-man is not able to extract them all, in which case the patient is bound to die.

The methods described above are, perhaps, those most commonly practised by the medicine-men. But there are many more also. The more experienced a sorcerer is, the cleverer he is in finding out new and ingenious ways of carrying out his evil designs against his tribesmen. Thus a sorcerer frequently bewitches his secret enemies while staying in their house on a visit, or while receiving them as guests, during a seemingly friendly conversation. The tunchi must then be let off secretly, without gestures and invocations attracting attention. A clever sorcerer is, for instance, supposed to be able

to bewitch a person through an apparently involuntary and accidental touch with the hand or by hiding the tunchi somewhere in the house, or in the food or drink offered the guest. It may also be hidden in the forest, in the foliage of a tree or bush. The 'arrow' is enveloped in leaves, possibly also with certain magical 'medicines', and the small bundle is hung up by the path where the intended victim is expected to pass. Sometimes the Indians, when wandering in the forest, believe they discover by smell the presence of such charmed bundles, hidden by enemy sorcerers. For the same reason the Jibaros, when putting foot on any strange ground or passing by houses inhabited by professed enemies, walk with great caution lest they should suddenly be hit by such hidden 'arrows'. When they arrive at a place in the forest where they intend to pass the night, and where provisional huts of palm leaves have been erected by previous Indian travellers, they never sleep in such huts without changing the roofing, removing the old palm leaves and putting on new ones. The hut may have been previously occupied by a sorcerer who has perhaps left his tunchi hidden among the leaves in order to harm the Indians afterwards sleeping there. Such tricks are often played by Jibaro sorcerers even without reference to pronounced and known enemies. Some of them simply take pleasure in doing harm to other people, be they declared enemies or not."

l: Karsten--466-467 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 763, 533 (1928-29)

"Wailing at Canelos is about the same as among the Jibaros. Similarly it is customary that visitors arriving at a house where a death has recently taken place are received wailing. The Canelos woman always wails singing, but since she sings violently sobbing, the melody is somewhat difficult to render. It is characteristic of this song that it always begins in a high and strong falsetto tone; then the voice gradually diminishes and the last tones are only heared[sic] as a low, distant murmur. The following is the usual mourning song of the Canelos woman:

Nyuca curilla,
Nyuca cusalla,
Imamant' saquishcani,
Imamant' hichuscani,
Imata tucushcani? [467]

In translation:

'My dear one,(1)
my dear little husband,
why have you left me,
why have you abandoned me?
What will it become of me?'"

"1. Curilla (a diminutive of curi, 'gold') literally means, 'My little gold.'"

335 cont.

better, forehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available zanzas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to decay -- unless after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repairs.

336/ A house must be deserted after a death, just as after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying, hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and their suggestions are decisive. The Jivaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Masses

34 Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

774 754 756 influence of *natema*, can sometimes see a person's *arutam* soul in his chest, where it appears as an inverted rainbow. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his *arutam* soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

774 761 [763] The *arutam* soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the *arutam* souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *own arutam* souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five *arutam* souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new ones. The formation [821] of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly created *arutam* souls of the dead men will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of future generations of Jivaro. At the same moment that these *arutam* souls are "born," the second type of Jivaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

The Muisak[9]

774 784 The second kind of soul, the *muisak*, or avenging soul, is closely connected with the *arutam* soul. Only a person who has had an *arutam* soul is capable of forming a *muisak*. Furthermore, a *muisak* comes into existence only when a person who has seen an *arutam* is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. When such a person is murdered, his aveng-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

bow. A shaman who has had his *tsentsak* taken away in this manner will discover that "nothing happens" when he drinks *natemä*. The sudden loss of his *tsentsak* will tend to make him ill, but ordinarily the illness is not fatal unless a bewitcher shoots a magical dart into him while he is in this weakened condition. If he has not become disillusioned by his experience, he can again purchase *tsentsak* from some other shaman and resume his calling.

Death

A death is announced to the neighborhood by beating the log signal drum, if the house has one, in the same rhythm used to send the alarm when a house is attacked. Little ambiguity usually is involved since the neighbors tend to know whether anyone in the signaling household has been seriously ill. All corpses are buried inside of the house instead of out of doors so as to "keep the dead one protected from the cold rain." Except when the house owner dies, the family continues to live in the dwelling, the rationale being expressed thus by an informant: "When they were alive, we did not fear them. Therefore we should not fear them when they are dead, although we do a little." After the house is later abandoned in the normal course of events, family members will return when the roof seriously disintegrates to build a small palm thatch over the grave.

If an infant or small child dies, the body is put into a large beer-brewing jar or cooking pot in an upright sitting position. An inverted cooking pot is placed on top to act as a cover, and the two vessels are sealed together with clay. The urn is buried in the center of the house with some chonta palm staves

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and two black streaks are painted under his eyes. The body is wrapped in a woman's dress, the largest cloth available. A palm-wood fighting lance is laid parallel to his body on the surface of the ground, and on the ground adjacent to the burial is placed the man's round stool. From a house beam overhead is suspended his monkey skin traveling bag containing his combs, ornamental earsticks, and knife or machete blade fragment.

If the deceased male still had a *tsantsa* in his possession, it is interred with him, under his back. Conversely, if he himself was the victim of a head-taking raid, his corpse is buried in the usual way.

A woman is buried in her finest dress and wearing her snail shell dance belt, glass bead necklaces, toucan feather earrings, and an ornamental stick in her lower lip. Her pottery-making tools and beer strainer are placed on the ground near her head, and one of her carrying baskets, containing personal effects, such as her comb and perfume bundle, is hung from a house beam above.

A large basket of cooked manioc and meat is left hanging above the head of the deceased, whether male or female, and a bowl of manioc beer is placed on the ground. The food and beer are replaced daily for about a week, after which it is believed that the *nekás wakani*, the true soul, has normally departed. However, if one of the survivors subsequently has a bad dream in which the deceased appears and complains of not being fed, the food and beer containers are hastily replenished.

Occasionally, an elderly, outstanding *untă* with renown as a killer may, on his deathbed, advise one or more sons that he wants them each to acquire one of his own *arutam* souls, which form at his death. When he dies, his corpse is entombed in a special way. It is seated on his round stool, leaning